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Special for our readers in warmer climates
Just wanted you to know what it was like up here recently

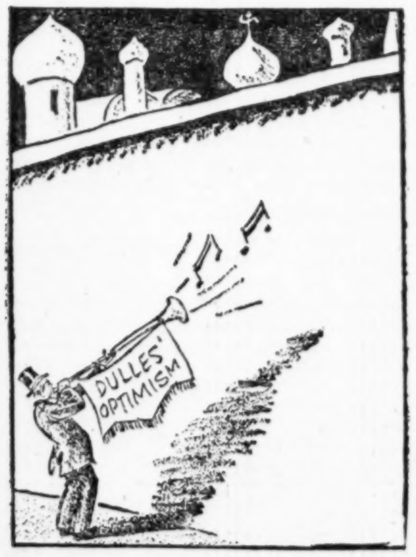
NEW STAGE IN SOCIALIST DIPLOMACY

Chinese-Soviet statement: its impact on world scene

By Tabitha Petran

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

THE SOVIET-CHINESE policy statement, issued at the conclusion of Premier Chou En-lai's visits to Moscow, Warsaw and Budapest, reflects a new stage in socialist diplomacy as well as the growing weight of China in world affairs. The joint diplomatic initiative, warning that the two countries will actively oppose the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine in the Middle East, rests upon a consolidation which seemingly has been achieved among socialist countries following a period of weakness highlighted by Polish and Hungarian developments.



Page in Louisville Courier-Journal
JOSHUAING

This new unity probably owes much to the analysis of socialist problems recently made by the Chinese Communist Party (see p. 6), an analysis designed, at least in part, to correct widespread confusion in socialist ranks resulting from Khrushchev's original critique of Stalin and his "many roads to socialism" dictum. Chou En-lai told an **Agence France Presse** correspondent in Warsaw "there is only one road to socialism but this road must always be adapted to the conditions of each country."

POLISH TEST: The re-consolidation of the socialist world faced an immediate test in Poland, where national elections took place barely three months after the "revolution" of October. Since elections could have been postponed only by changing the Constitution, the new government decided to hold them as scheduled. But it had had time neither to repair the weakened party and administrative machinery nor to tackle the country's grave economic problems. Its position was therefore difficult.

The new government is determined to build socialism but many of those who brought it to power are less than enthusiastic about this goal. It is not "Titoist," but has combined independence in internal affairs with a recognition of the need for maintaining not only its alliance with the U.S.S.R. but also what a joint Polish-Chinese statement, issued at the end of Chou's visit, called "proletarian internationalism." But it has had to cope with traditional anti-Russian feeling (and also anti-Semitism)—now magnified by the desire to find scapegoats for past failures and mistakes and present frustrations. In this situation, the activities of U.S. psychological warfare agencies, including propaganda for a vote against the government and efforts to stir anti-Soviet sentiment, represented

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INFLATION, ANYBODY?

Ike's armed budget: 63c of each dollar slated for military

By Lawrence Emery

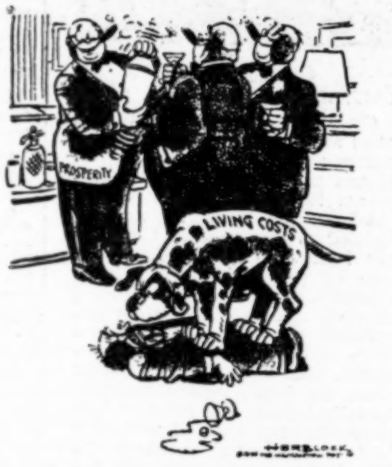
THE MOMENT President Eisenhower's whopping $71.807,000,000 budget for fiscal 1958 was presented to Congress, Rep. Clarence Cannon (D-Mo.), chairman of the powerful House Appropriations Committee, was on his feet crying betrayal: "There is no retrenchment. There is no economy." He called it the biggest budget "ever presented in peacetime in any country in the history of the world."

Others were appalled at its size. Treasury Secy. George M. Humphrey predicted a hair-curling depression if "terrific" taxing and spending are not halted "because we are just taking too much money out of this economy that we need to make the jobs that you have to have as time goes on." He said there are "a lot of places in this budget that can be cut," but he wouldn't specify where. He denied that his views, as the Administration's chief finance officer, indicated a split in the government.

NO TIME TO CUT: Some top GOP Congressional leaders were highly critical of the budget, but Democratic leaders remained calm. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson was non-committal, remarking only that it will take time "to go through all of the items and determine whether the type of spending requested is necessary, wise and adapted to our needs." House Speaker Sam Rayburn told reporters: "In times like these we don't usually cut budgets very much." The N.Y. **Times** said that "realistic legislators . . . looked for few significant reductions."

The budget followed the pattern set by Harry S. Truman at the start of the Cold war: military expenditures far outstripped those allotted for civil benefits at home. (But even this didn't please the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers: "It is discouraging to see the government spending more and more on its domestic programs where economy should be achieved").

REMEMBER FDR: It was a far cry from Franklin D. Roosevelt's last peacetime budget in 1941. Even with intense war preparations, his $13,400,000,000 budget allotted only 12.7% of the funds to national security, more than 70% for welfare and other domestic needs. Truman almost exactly reversed that ratio and Eisenhower is continuing the pattern.



Herblock in Washington Post
"Pay no attention to Rover. He just likes to join in."

Of the nearly $3,000,000,000 increase in 1958 over the current budget, seven-tenths is for military functions. The President, in words scarcely reminiscent of the man of peace re-elected by a landslide, justified the arms-spending boost by a need for "powerful armed forces to deter and, if need be to defeat aggression." Fifty-nine cents of every budget dollar was earmarked for "national security"; if veterans' benefits and interest on the national debt are counted as continuing costs of past wars, then the total added up to 76c of every dollar. This left 22c for domestic welfare (with 2c being applied to debt retirement).

LITTLE MAN PAYS: Footing the bill are the low-income folks who can least afford it—51c of every expected tax dollar will come from individual income taxes, and 12c from excise (sales) taxes for a total of 63c. On the tax question, the President was blunt and clear: ". . . taxes must be retained at the present rates . . . the reduction of tax rates must give way under present circumstances to the cost of meeting our urgent national responsibilities." For small business, which is fast being forced out of business, he thought there might be a little tax relief provided it added up to "a minimum loss of revenue."

By the budget's own figures, 63% of the total is listed under "Protection" to be devoted "to maintaining and improving our own defenses and to strengthening the defenses and economies of other nations in the interest of collective security

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THE MAIL BAG

Capital gains?

CLEVELAND, O.

On Dec. 31, the newspapers and news magazines gave their usual resumes of important events of the preceding year. It seems to me that these resumes and "Man of the Year" articles are slanted to give readers the feeling that world capitalism and rule by privilege are regaining strength. In line with this, I noticed that several important setbacks to the propertied class were omitted in this year's resumes. One such 1956 event took place in Japan where the left Socialists made big gains in last summer's elections. Japan, the leading industrial country in Asia, has become increasingly independent of U. S. big business, but the year-end reviews ignored this change.

Also conveniently forgotten in the reviews were the leftist victory in the Ceylonese elections and the large gains by the Communists in the Burmese elections. These three Asian countries, which the papers want us to overlook, have over 115 million population. For comparative purposes this is more than live in England, France and Austria combined. Taking into account the whole world picture, 1956 has been a year of advance by working people and of decline for the system of rule by the privileged class.

Factory worker

Prefers us

NEW YORK, N.Y.

All the staff are to be congratulated upon having accomplished a miracle in financing the GUARDIAN and in furnishing such splendid articles. I always take pleasure in sending my insignificant contribution each month and wish I could do much more. Last evening I heard on the radio that two more of the Colliers-Crowell publications are "dead." It is a satisfaction to me that I personally have never supported a company which is now "firing" hundreds of employees with no concern for what is going to become of them.

Elsie Tyndale

Protest book-banning

RICHMOND, CALIF.

I am writing you this letter to enlist aid in fighting against the attempt (just started the other day) to remove books on communism and books written by Communists from the shelves of the Richmond Public Library here, a demand now being pushed by the Richmond **Independent** (the one newspaper here but a real Standard Oil one).

We have an excellent public library here and a staff of librarians above the average; and patrons making requests for liberal and controversial books have more than an average number of requests honored. Now the Richmond City Council has ordered the Library Board of Trustees to make a report of the so-called communist books on the shelves.

Unless there is freedom for all ideas there is freedom for none. If the ideas of communism are so powerful that the ideas of democracy cannot stand comparative examination with them then truly the days of democracy are limited. Why shouldn't books written by Communists be there as well as books on communism written by non-Communists? How else can people interested in even an academic comparison of capitalism and communism get a fair comparison unless they have proponents of both sides presenting their views?

In Richmond, McCarthyism is again rearing its ugly head in the demand for burning books (and I mean literally burning them; check the Richmond **Independent**, Wed. Nov. 21). Protest to Board of Trustees, Richmond Public Library, Richmond, Calif.

Fritz Frederickson

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 1. (UP)—Val Peterson, Federal civil defense director, has urged construction of $32 billion worth of underground shelters in the nation's major cities to protect the population from attack by hydrogen missiles.

Peterson conceded that the cost was a terrible financial burden, but said he saw "no alternative—other than peace."

Detroit News, 1/1.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Dave Pomplin, Detroit. Be sure to include original clip with entry.

Petition for redress

BELLINGHAM, WASH.

Following are excerpts of a letter I have sent to all members of Congress from my state:

"As a citizen and voter of the Second District of the State of Washington I wish to present to you a petition for redress of a most burdensome and intolerable grievance.

"On Dec. 13, 1956, in the Commissioners Chambers in the City of Seattle, I was publicly branded as a murderer.

"This was done by counsel Richard Arens, acting on behalf of the House of Representatives' subcommittee on Un-American Activities. Reps. Doyle of Calif. and Scherer of Ohio, constituting a quorum of the subcommittee, conducted the proceedings. This was done in flat violation of the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States providing that no one shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime except upon indictment by a grand jury. Nor was any evidence or substantiation of this criminally-libelous false charge offered. Nevertheless it was published abroad in the press of my home town, Bellingham, in the state of Washington, and the nation generally. The public press and the official record of the subcommittee afford ample proof of this, my grave charge.

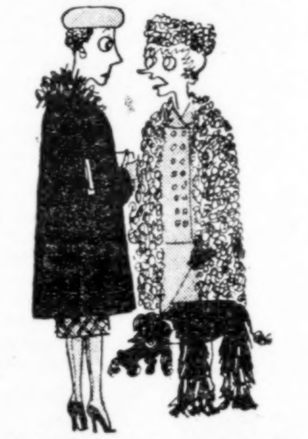
"I petition you for the following as a partial remedy:

"That you initiate Congressional action for the forthwith dismissal of counsel Arens on ground of depriving a citizen of the State of Washington and of the United States of America of his civil rights under the Constitution without due process of law.

"That you initiate proceedings in the House of Representatives of the Congress for impeachment of Reps. Doyle and Scherer for flagrant violation of their oath of office to uphold the Constitution of the United States upon this occasion."

Clayton Van Lydegraf

At the Seattle hearing, Arens accused Van Lydegraf, twice-decorated Air Force officer, of taking part in post-war Huk uprisings in the Philippines, tried to break through his stony silence by shouting at him: "You are a murderer on behalf of the Communist conspiracy. Now deny that under oath." Van Lydegraf told reporters later he had never been to the Philippines.



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Poor Willy's not been at all well since Christmas—the doctor says there's too little blood in his alcohol stream!"

China's women

TIENTSIN, CHINA

Regarding the excerpt from the article in the N.Y. **Times** on "How China's women are faring," which the GUARDIAN reprinted (9/17/56), I'd like to make a few comments.

Complete equality wasn't given to Chinese women at one stroke, nor could it be. Women here have been given equal political, economic and domestic status with men; now it is up to them to bring to reality such equality for themselves. And they are in fact rapidly doing this. Their government gives them concrete support in their struggle.

That young people have been freed "from the obligation to heed the 'wisdom' of their elders" is also not true. All people have been freed from unreason, however. I asked the grown daughter of one of my friends, "Do you obey your parents?" She answered, "Yes, so long as they are reasonable." "And if not?" I pursued. "Then I try gently to persuade them," was her reply to that. My personal opinion is that this girl is generally more reasonable than her parents, who grew up under the old false standards and values. China's young people, men and women, are disarmingly mature and level-headed.

Chinese women are independent and hard-working. But "among the world's drabbest"? That's a stage almost over now. It's true that, with Liberation, cadres did come into the cities in homespun—because in the border regions where they came from there was nothing else. It's also true that bourgeois city women did ape the new ruling class, as they were accustomed to doing. They packed away their finery, shelved their lipsticks, and donned drab blue cotton cloth. It was ridiculous, and now they are seeing it so, digging into their trunks, and again appearing in public in fine clothes and make-up.

Betty Chandler Chang

Atomic Bulletin

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Being of the firm opinion that GUARDIAN readers are thoughtful people, eager to learn and to think deeply about matters that count most, I suggest that they subscribe to the monthly magazine **The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists** ($5 per year, 5750 Ellis Av., Chicago 37, Ill.). One of its remarkable merits is a high degree of readability for lay people. It is world-minded in its outlook. Each of its 1956 issues was devoted to a symposium on "Science and the Affairs of Man."

A. Garcia Diaz

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Vol. 9, No. 15 401 January 28, 1957

REPORT TO READERS

Waive reply!

OUR FAVORITE Mailbag correspondent is not anonymous, but we shall keep the name to ourselves for the purposes of this Report, which is aimed at making every GUARDIAN reader our favorite correspondent.

Our reigning favorite right now praises and/or raps with unfailing regularity, encloses clippings and fairly frequent contributions, makes occasional Guardian Buying Service purchases, adds a new reader now and then, but winds up every commentary with the understanding postscript:

"Waive reply."

We interpret this friendly phrase rather broadly to mean: "Here are a few comments which you may or may not choose to publish in the Mailbag, depending on how apt you may consider them, or whether the viewpoint may have been better or sooner or more briefly offered by someone else, or whether you have the space, or whatever other reasons not amounting to editorial persnicketiness. I know you haven't the time or the omniscience to get into arguments with everybody who writes to you. Above all, don't send me form answers, however fancily-phrased. I not only object to form letters, but look at the stamps you will save!"

RIGHT NOW OUR MAILBAG PILE is higher than it has ever been. There isn't a chance of a snowball in H-E-Two Sticks of printing one-tenth of it, even edited down to one or two sentences per letter. For example, a Mailbag letter last spring on diet brought down an avalanche of its own of all manner of commentaries on health, the medical profession, vitamins, nudism and bath-taking, pro & con. Among the systems submitted for changing the world, there is one which runs 72-pp, single-spaced, both sides of the paper. On independent political action alone, we still have a mail pile a foot high dating back two years, even though we ran several double-spreads of reader comment on the subject in '55 and '56.

We figure we get upwards of 1,500 pieces of mail a week from readers, much of it of course dealing with subscriptions, address changes, monthly pledges etc.; and these business aspects are taken care of as promptly as possible. But the comments you may scribble even on a pledge form then find their way into the Letters to the Editor department, where the situation is always comparable to the noonday rush at the paycheck window of the bank on Fridays.

LIKE THE FARMER'S WIFE in a good berry season, we eat what we can and what we can't eat we can. We try to make the Mailbag reflect in a balanced way what people are thinking and speaking out about; the informational material (and there is a welcome plenty!) goes into our files or directly to our writers; the poetry, alas, winds up in the "perhaps some week later on" pile; the rest lies heavily on our conscience, unsung, unhonored but not unwept. Yet even to contemplate acknowledging it all would require installing a secretarial pool, a special postage fund and a world's champion know-it-all to devise worthy replies.

We're just not up to it—and yet, we do want that mail! It is such a welcome sign of life and interest and world concern, on the part of people we know to be the salt of our part of this earth. So please keep on writing, but please understand that the Mailbag page is just so big and no bigger, extra mail pages are hard to come by without enlarging the paper, and even "form letter" acknowledgements would cost us a pretty penny—for which we think you agree there are better uses.

— THE GUARDIAN

P.S. Waive reply.

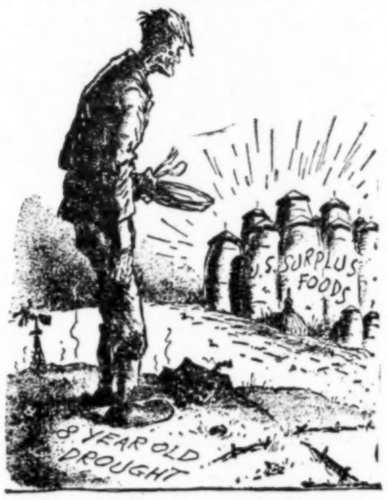
"STUDY" WON'T WET THE EARTH

Ike's plan to ease drought falls far short of needs

THE PRESENT Great Plains drought was many years old when Dwight Eisenhower first took office. But in his first term he appealed to Congress for permission to turn back to private hands some 10,000,000 acres which the New Deal government had bought up during the drought of the 30s and either returned to grass or put under strict conservation controls. All experts agreed that these tracts lessened to some degree the effects of the current drought, the worst in the memory of man.

Congress in 1952 rejected the Presidential plea for sale of the controlled acres. This year, as the drought reached the proportions of a major disaster directly affecting more than 20,000,000 persons in 15 states, the Administration's request has been renewed. The Denver **Post,** close to the drought problem, made this comment:

"Once again the Eisenhower Administration is going to ask Congress to authorize return to private ownership of millions of acres bought up as a conservation measure in the 'Dust Bowl' days of the 'dirty thirties.' These are known as the LU lands—for land utilization—and are administered by the U.S. Forest Service. If these lands are broken for crops and otherwise misused, the result would be diametrically opposed to the whole philosophy of the soil bank program and the long-range Great Plains program."



Shoemaker in N.Y. Herald Tribune
Might come in handy some day

BURN 'EM UP, BOYS: The St. Louis **Post-Dispatch,** also close to the drought, was even sharper: "In the midst of drought, and with dust storms growing worse by the year, the Administration is planning to push again for release of several millions of acres of Great Plains land to private ownership. This is very much as if, in the midst of a conflgration, a proposal were put forward to set fire to a few more blocks."

Mr. Eisenhower, in his recent widely-publicized three-day tour of the stricken area, didn't start any new fires but he didn't put any out, either. After viewing the devastation from plane and auto, he wound up at a 15-state conference of experts and officials in Wichita, Kan., and proposed some inadequate immediate relief. For long-range solutions he offered long-range study. (He either never knew, or had forgotten, the pioneering New Deal program which largely licked the Dust Bowl of the 30s: see bottom of this page).

For immediate aid to ranchers and farmers in the region, many of whom have nothing left but the mortgage, the President suggested a Federal fund of $76,000,000 for emergency feed assistance, emergency wind-erosion measures, and emergency refinancing of farm indebtedness by direct loans.

ENCYCLOPEDIC VIEW: For the big, permanent answer to cyclical Great Plains droughts, he was all for "long, patient, exhaustive research with a minimum of Federal action." He told the Wichita conference that "no get-rich-quick program will solve this one. And we need to know . . . I am certain that when all of the reports that this body will produce are integrated with the encyclopedia of papers that I have collected on this trip, and studied in the Departments of Agriculture and Interior, in the Small Business Administration, and all the others that are interested in this great problem, we are going to come up with additional programs that the Federal Government can commend to you . . ."

THE PRESIDENT DRIVES THROUGH THE PARCHED LAND
This picture was taken in the bone-dry area of San Angelo, Tex.

He was all for local initiative (which hasn't prevailed since the Great Plains were first settled): "I am one who fears control that is located too far from the scene of action . . ."

The President was silent on an urgent plea by Colorado's Governor Edwin C. Johnson, made by telegram on Jan. 2, that the government buy up drought land and resell it immediately to individuals on condition that it not be plowed. Said Johnson: "The Dust Bowl is facing a major disaster this Spring. The only permanent solution is to return it permanently to grazing purposes." He scoffed at a question about the cost of such a program: "They've put enough money into relief in the Dust Bowl area to have paid $100 an acre for that land." Agriculture Secy. Ezra Benson said he doubted if the government could buy land to resell for grazing only.

BILLS IN CONGRESS: On Jan. 10 two Texas Congressmen introduced bills under which the government would rent Dust Bowl land and not even permit grazing until it recovered from the drought.

Most experts were agreed that, if the Dust Bowl is to be reclaimed and protected from future droughts, restrictions on its use and management must be imposed. But this notion is poison to the Eisenhower Administration. The **N.Y. Times** quoted an unnamed Administration official as calling proper land use and conservation enforced by legislation as "'a sort of police action but not without merit.' He noted, however, that it was morally repulsive as well as 'politically unacceptable.'"

DISASTER AND DISASTER: With these views prevailing in Washington, history is bound to repeat itself: some stop-gap measures will be taken, the rains will eventually come again, the land will slowly revive, the people will forget as they have before, and the fast operators will move in for a fast killing. When the drought cycle comes round again, there will be another disaster.

Meanwhile, the worst of this one is likely yet to come. At the Wichita conference the Weather Bureau upped its earlier figures: 2,740,000 acres are already damaged from soil erosion and 29,440,000 other acres are in a condition to "blow". When the winds howl across the Plains come February and March, there may not be much left to conserve.

But nobody will be able to say that the Eisenhower Administration interfered with private enterprise.

Reclaiming the Dust Bowl . . . by a man who did

Hugh H. Bennett, author of the following letter which appeared in the Washington Post *and* Times-Herald *Jan. 9, was in charge of the New Deal's battle against the Dust Bowl in the 30s. Now 76, he entered government service as a soil scientist in 1903. His work took him to much of Central and South America, Cuba, Alaska and the Union of S. Africa. He was director of the Soil Erosion Service of the Dept. of the Interior from 1933 to 1935 and was chief of the Soil Conservation Service of the Dept. of Agriculture from 1935 to his retirement. He is the author of seven books in his field.*

YOUR TIMELY EDITORIAL of Dec. 26 calls attention to a prodigious land disaster at the heart of the Nation, and what to do about it. Drought, wind erosion, dust, dunes and fruitless fields are fast undermining the economy of the afflicted area.

We have had much experience combating wind erosion, dust and drought. It may profit us to look back to the drought of the 1930s and what was done about it. That was a prolonged, dusty and disastrous drought that extended across the Great Plains from Canada deep into Texas and adjacent New Mexico. The whole vast area was parched, including even the deep alluvial soils of river bottoms.

And there was "dust pneumonia" and frightening dust storms that blotted out the sun over the Nation's Capital and New York. The biggest one laid dust on the decks of ships hundreds of miles off the Atlantic Coast.

Then the rains came with good crops of wheat and sorghum. The people forgot. They plowed up more virgin grassland along with much of what farmers had gradually reestablished with the assistance of soil conservation.

"Suitcase farmers" came in, leased land, tore down fences, plowed up everything and seeded wheat. Some of them made fortunes, repacked their suitcases, moved out and forgot their crimes against the public. But nature neither forgot nor forgave. Accordingly, we are being punished once more for our interference with the stern laws of nature.

NOT ALL has been forgotten—and that is what I want to point out. Experience sometimes gives us valuable suggestions. I have reference to the experience of the Soil Conservation Service whose birthday corresponded closely with the great dust storm of May 12, 1934. That "black blizzard" was the first of its kind since the coming of the white man to America.

The Soil Conservation Service ran head on into this catastrophic drought of the 1930's and its attendant evils without combat experience or proven implements of attack. Fortunately the service was founded on the concept that soil erosion can be coped with only through the use and protection of land according to the needs and capability of the different kinds of land a farmer has, making use of those adaptable measures and combinations of measures required for sustained productivity of the soil.

Every proven measure was utilized and many new measures were quickly developed by trial and error. The old practice of listing was amended by contour application. Crop residues were carefully protected from overgrazing. Good results came from using wheatland for wheat, grassland for grass and sorghum land for sorghum. We harvested seed of all the good grazing grasses of the region and planted them in contour furrows within their known range limits.

Pasture areas were contour furrowed; even hole-digging machines were used on the contour on some of the more vulnerable lands. Wild sunflower—a weed—was planted in some of the more scorched areas. Every implement and every planting were held to the contour. It probably was the world's greatest contour movement, with the exception of the practice of bench-terracing, which had its origin in ancient times.

The work proved successful where properly applied and maintained. To a considerable degree wind erosion was stopped throughout the Great Plains.

NOT ALL OF THIS WORK has been forgotten. The Dalhart area in the Texas Panhandle is a notable exception. This was in one of the worst wind-whipped, drought-stricken areas in the whole afflicted region. Here it was that a plain's raven had built its nest of bits of wire picked up from farmsteads in the absence of vegetable materials for nest construction.

Finally the situation in this area was put under control. Even the dunes that had blown up were leveled and controlled with contour plantings of sorghums. And here the farmers have held on to their conservation practices; today these farms are in much better shape than those where the conservation practices were neglected or plowed up. The Dalhart area stands out like an oasis in the midst of drought and want; but what is more important, it is a place plains farmers can go for conservation information and renewed hope.

I mention these matters because they give me faith to predict a successful outcome of the new battle that apparently is to be fought to the finish.

Hugh H. Bennett

NEGROES ASK FOR "JUST A WORD"

Eisenhower ignores plea to decry South's violence

THE NAACP "FIGHT FOR FREEDOM" FUND DRIVE IS OPENED

Jackie Robinson, who retired from baseball to become an executive of the Chock Full O' Nuts Corp., is shown above presenting a check for $10,000 for the drive to Arthur B. Spingarn, NAACP president. The check is from William Black, the corporation president. L. to r., Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the NAACP board, Spingarn, Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, and Robinson. Robinson is general chairman of the drive for 1957.

By Eugene Gordon

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING Jr., leader of Montgomery's successful year-long fight for integration of city buses, said last week he thought it was "very unfortunate" that President Eisenhower had ignored a plea to come South and speak out against anti-Negro violence. Dr. King, chairman of a Conference on Transportation and Non-Violent Integration, held in Atlanta Jan. 11-12, told the N.Y. **Amsterdam News** (1/19) that many Southern Negroes voted for Eisenhower's reelection "with the hope that he would do something about their critical situation . . . but that they have been sorely disappointed." Dr. King said:

"This would have been a good opportunity for him at least to cool emotions down here. It certainly is not helpful to our position in world affairs. This is one issue which will determine whether the U.S. will be the leader of the free world, for the President can play a great role in shaping and moulding public opinion. He can also use his executive powers to control or stop many of the situations occurring here. All we asked for was just a word from the President."

The plea "for just a word" was made in a letter to Mr. Eisenhower on Jan. 11. At the Jan. 12 meeting 60 clergymen, civic, trade union and NAACP leaders and educators waited throughout the day for a reply that never came. The next day the President flew to the Southwest to dramatize the plight of the drought-stricken area.

NIXON AND BROWNELL: The Atlanta conference wrote to Vice President Nixon that "all persons of good will" were impressed with his "deep concern" for the Hungarians, but would be more impressed if he visited "the troubled areas of the South", talked to victims of racial violence, and recommended to the President "a course of action that might be as effective as your efforts on behalf of Hungarian refugees."

A letter to Atty. Gen. Brownell quoted his assertion that bus segregation was "a crime against the U.S." and asked a meeting with him "at the earliest possible date" to determine "the extent to which we can rely upon the Federal government to carry out these plans to have the law complied with."

Identical letters to Rev. Dr. J. H. Jackson, president of the Natl. Baptist Convention, and to African Methodist Episcopal Bishop D. Ward Nichols, asked each to appeal to "every church in the nation [to] beseech Almighty God to restore law and order in our land."

"A SMALL MINORITY": The conference said in a 1,500-word statement that "the great majority of white Southerners are prepared to accept and abide by the supreme law of the land," but that "a small, determined minority resorts to threats, bodily assaults, cross-burnings, bombings, shootings and open defiance of the law in an attempt to force us to retract." But Negroes could not turn back, it said; they had no "moral choice but to continue the struggle, not for ourselves alone but for all America."

The conference called on Negro citizens to:

- Assert their human dignity.
- Seek justice; reject all injustice.
- Refuse to cooperate with "the evil element" which would have Negroes "collude against themselves in return for bits of patronage."
- Reject jimcrow regardless of "obstacles and suffering."
- Accept "Christian love" and non-violence "not as symbols of cowardliness" but as foundations of "strength and... courage in the face of danger."

TALLAHASSEE TROUBLE: Rev. C. K. Steele, president of Tallahassee's Inter-Civic Council (patterned after the Montgomery Improvement Assn. to conduct the bus boycott there), was among those in Atlanta. The night after his return to Tallahassee--Jan. 14--bricks shattered the plate glass window of a meat market owned by C. K. Dupont, ICC vice president. A note tied to a brick threatened violence against him for daring to run against a white man for City Commissioner. Rev. Steele said:

"I certainly feel that we were entitled to what we were asking from the President. We are protesting down here [in Tallahassee] in the name of love and good will and I think our efforts warrant the influence of the President's support."

Rev. Steele told a mass meeting that bus jimcrow was "dead." He declared that "all the rocks thrown, shots fired and crosses burned will not return segregation to city buses." His home was bombed on New Year's Day. He said:

"It is our dogged determination to be free in the good old American style. We will not be satisfied until all Americans, regardless of race, creed or color, can enjoy the rights and privileges guaranteed under the Constitution. If trying to ride the buses and attend schools and trying to vote like everybody else is wrong [and he raised his voice above the shouts of 'Amen!' 'Yes, brother!'] then let us be wrong!"

On Jan. 16 Rev. Steel's home was bombed again.

TROUBLE IN ATLANTA: Protests "in the name of love" encountered the obstacle of hate in Atlanta too. The day before the conference, six Negro ministers organized the Love, Law and Liberation Movement, its first object to get a judicial review of Georgia's jimcrow bus law. They began the day by taking bus seats generally reserved for white passengers. (Atlanta has no law requiring bus segregation.) They had left the bus, returned to the meeting place and were singing and praying when warrants for their arrest were served. The clergymen quietly boarded the patrol wagons backed up to the door of the church where their meeting was being held, were driven to the Fulton County jail and fingerprinted. They were later released in $1,000 bond each.

The Movement's president, William H. Borders, told a mass meeting: "We are going to ride the buses unsegregated in the heart of Atlanta or we'll ride chariots in heaven or push wheelbarrows in hell."

Georgia Gov. Griffin declared the militia had been alerted, "subject to call on a moment's notice." He would "not hesitate" to use it against the Movement's "provocations" inspired by "out-of-state agitators."

MONTGOMERY SITUATION: In Montgomery police were cold to the Negro people's plea for protection of their churches. If the four which were dynamited earlier this month had been guarded, police said, then others should be guarded; but that was "impossible." Dr. King said at a mass meeting:

"To bomb our homes was unpardonable; but to attack the house of God was tragic barbarity devoid of moral sensitivity." He spoke of Negro leadership's special responsibility in this crisis and said passionately: "If anybody is to be killed, let it be me!"

He swayed slightly, as if about to fall; was caught and supported by brothers ministers. Then he continued as though nothing had happened.

Bus fight box score

Here is how the anti-jimcrow bus fight shapes up in 12 cities of six states:

ATLANTA: Six ministers who rode in the "white" section of a bus to test Georgia's jimcrow travel law face indictment by a county grand jury.

BATON ROUGE: Louisiana Atty. Gen. Gremillion threatened jail for all who obeyed a Federal court order ending bus jimcrow. A Negro group said it would defy the threat. Gov. Long said he hoped any test "will be peaceful."

BIRMINGHAM: Alabama's Christian Movement for Human Rights goes to court Feb. 4 to defend 22 members arrested for violating jimcrow bus laws.

CHATTANOOGA: Bus segregation ended early this month. The Southern Coach Lines removed jimcrow signs.

COLUMBIA (S.C.): Negro students last month began testing the segregation law by sitting in the "white" section. There have been no reprisals. Bus segregation is considered "dead."

MEMPHIS: The transit company is scheduled to explain in Federal court Feb. 1 why it refuses to operate its buses non-jimcrow.

MIAMI: Federal Judge Choate ruled that Negro bus riders may "just sit anywhere." The city is appealing.

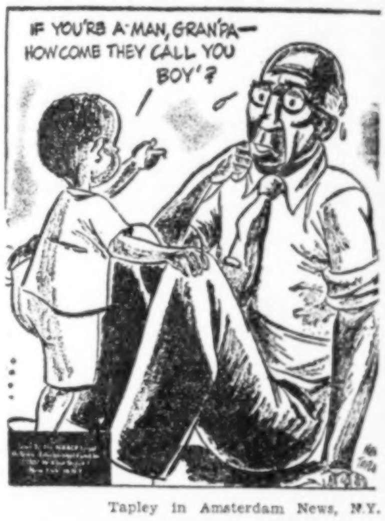
MOBILE: The bus company has removed jimcrow signs, but city officials insist that state and city segregation laws will be enforced.

MONTGOMERY: The bombing of four churches and two parsonages halted bus operation until white persons, experiencing for the first time what Negroes voluntarily endured for more than a year, demanded that the buses be operated under police guard. Buses now run until nightfall.

NASHVILLE: The city attorney has ruled that segregated buses are illegal. Desegregation is expected soon.

NEW ORLEANS: The transit company has already rejected an appeal that it comply with the U.S. Supreme Court anti-jimcrow bus ruling. The interdenominational Ministerial Alliance and the N. O. Improvement League are seeking a declaratory judgment in Federal court compelling compliance.

TALLAHASSEE: Buses resumed operations after Gov. Collins lifted a Jan. 1 suspension. He suggested an arrangement by which drivers would "assign" seats. Six Negro and six white university students were arrested for ignoring a driver and sitting together.


IF YOU'RE A-MAN, GRAN'PA—
HOW COME THEY CALL YOU
BOY'?

Tapley in Amsterdam News, N.Y.

A strange quiet

REFERRING to President Eisenhower's "No. 1 traveling salesman [going] all the way to Austria to see how the Hungarians were faring," the Springfield (Mass.) **Daily News** said:

"The President is a humanitarian. He has said so himself. Certainly he must know that charity is supposed to begin at home . . . Is it more urgent for a citizen of Hungary to attain freedom than for an American citizen to be allowed the identical privilege? . . . The Administration is aghast at the notion that Russians should fire upon unarmed Hungarians. It is strangely quiet about bullet-riddled, passenger-laden buses in Montgomery, Ala."

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WHO ARE THEY? WHERE WILL THEY GO?

The refugees — from Hungary and Egypt

By Elmer Bendiner

THIS WAS BUDAPEST ON JANUARY 15, 1957
Only the damaged buildings reflect the October uprising

THE WORLD'S CONSCIENCE has been stirred again this winter by a tide of refugees. Though many are genuine victims, some seem to have uprooted themselves and gone prospecting for rosier futures than their homeland offered. Genuine or not, the refugees have fallen into the hands of press agents who use them for an emotional pitch for a political line. Thereby the real tragedy has been obscured.

Prominent among the homeless from both Hungary and Egypt are Jews—and for these there are few glamorized air lifts. More than 13% of Hungary's 120,000 Jews fled during the uprising and after. Most of the 16,500 Jewish refugees who crossed into Austria are still there.

The **N.Y. Times** (1/14), citing Jewish relief organizations, reported that most of the Hungarian Jews want to come to the U.S. Religious organizations, with the approval of the State Dept., originally established quotas for different faiths, limiting Jews to less than 10% of those admitted to the U.S. from Hungary.

Last week it was reported that the "'quotas-within-quotas" system had been abandoned. Jewish organizations have told the refugees that their destination must be "Israel or probably nothing," but only 1,000 have chosen to go to Israel. The others wait in forlorn internment until the world can offer some assurance of a peaceful haven that will not turn into a trouble spot.

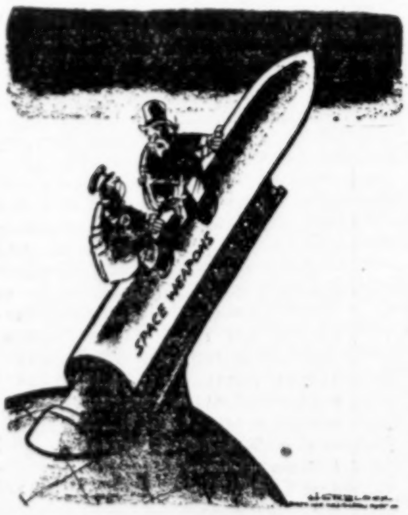
ANTI-SEMITISM RAMPANT: Indications are that the Jews feared the rebels as much as or more than anything else in Hungary. At the height of the rising, even those news sources most sympathetic to the rebels reported that anti-Semitic slogans were voiced by some elements as loudly as anti-government ones.

Some sources told of full-fledged pogroms perpetrated by those who took advantage of the free-for-all to hang Jews. One Jewish doctor who treated wounded rebels was said to have been forced to watch his wife being raped and then had his eyes gouged because he turned away.

Vochenblatt, a Canadian left-wing Jewish weekly, cited a letter from Vienna to a New York rabbi during the fighting which said: "Jewish blood is being spilt by the rebels in Hungary and especially in Budapest." A correspondent of the Tel Aviv **Maariv** reported:

"During the uprising a number of former Nazis were released from prison and other former Nazis came to Hungary from Salzburg . . . I met them at the border . . . I saw anti-Semitic posters in Budapest . . . On the walls, street lights, streetcars you saw inscriptions reading: 'Down with Jew Gero!' 'Down with Jew Rakosi!', or just simply 'Down with the Jews'."

IN THE CAMPS: Rabbi R. Pozner, who toured refugee camps for British Jewish relief organizations, reported that "the majority of Jews who left Hungary did so for fear of the Hungarians and not the Russians." The Paris Yiddish daily **Naye Presse** said Jewish refugees reaching France claimed Soviet soldiers had saved their lives. Some of these indicated they planned to return to Hungary.



Herblock in Washington Post
"Shouldn't we have reins or something on it?"

The behavior of rebel refugees in the camps bore out the atrocity reports. Last week Zev Weiss, an executive of Youth Aliyah, an organization for refugee resettlement, returned from Austria to the U.S. with a warning that "alarming numbers" of Hungarian refugees in Austria are anti-Semitic. He said that despite efforts by Austrian police, insults and assaults had become so serious that Jewish refugees had to be segregated for their own protection.

In Canada and Britain, Hungarian refugees tried to lynch individuals they said had been affiliated with the Hungarian security police. No evidence of such affiliation was produced, but in both cases the victims, narrowly saved from death, were Jews.

UNSATISFYING GLAMOR: The Hungarian government pleaded for the refugees to come home and go back to work. Austria was running short of money and patience as the camps overflowed. When eleven 13-year-old boys crossed the border and asked sanctuary because they didn't like their school teacher, Viennese authorities ruled that they could not qualify as political refugees. They were returned to their parents who waited anxiously on the Hungarian side of the border.

In the U.S., where over 21,000 Hungarian refugees have already arrived, screen stars and beauty queens performed everywhere in their behalf. Many appeared on TV shows. But the glamor failed to satisfy some. Star mile-runner Laszlo Tabori and his coach, were dissatisfied. In Miami, training for a nation-wide tour. Tabori complained of his hotel room, the meals served at the University of Miami and his training facilities. He said that in Hungary athletes were given "the best of everything" and Miami had so far failed to. Other members of the Hungarian Olympic team who accepted the invitation to become refugees at the height of the fighting also complained of second-rate hotel accommodations.

Those refugees who did not qualify for publicity build-ups faced a more obscure future. Letters to newspapers, particularly in the South and West, objected to importing more factory hands when there were already 2,500,000 unemployed in the country. Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), co-author of the Walter-McCarran Act, and Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D-S.C.), acting chairman of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, were complaining that the refugees had not been properly screened. The screen they advocated would catch "communists" but not anti-Semites.

EGYPT'S JEWS: Jews singled out for extra punishment wherever violence breaks, might be expected to be especially vulnerable in a land at war with Israel. Accounts of how Egyptian Jews fared during the Middle East fighting varied with the source. Before the hostilities there were 45,000 Jews in Egypt. Of these 10-15,000 were Egyptian citizens. (Any family having continuous residence in Egypt since 1900 is legally regarded as Egyptian unless they claim other nationality.) Another 10-15,000 Jews were stateless and the rest nationals of various European countries.

Israeli sources have charged that, although Egypt has not actually expelled many Jews, it has clamped down a "ruthless economic squeeze"; that Jewish businesses have been impounded, Jewish lawyers and doctors driven from their practice and many Jews fired from their jobs at government instigation. Israeli spokesmen, likening the persecution to Hitler's, predict that all of Egypt's Jews will ultimately have to come to Israel.

THE CAIRO VIEW: The story from Cairo is different. **Associated Press** reported from there on Jan. 10 that the "anti-Jewish wave of arrests" and other persecutions had halted. Estimates of Jews arrested at the war's height range from the official figure of 250 to as high as 1,000. Those arrested who claimed other-than-Egyptian nationality were released on condition that they leave the country immediately. Egyptian citizens are either being released or awaiting trial, according to **AP**.

The names of 200 stateless Jews among those suspected by the government of working for Israel in the war were turned over to the Red Cross which was asked to find countries to accept them. British and French nationals, Jews and non-Jews, were "encouraged to leave Egypt." Many Jews hold French citizenship.

During the hostilities the Cairo government took over essential industries and business houses and Jews were laid off as security risks. But, the **AP** reported: "With tension relaxing, many of these may return to their jobs."

MATTER OF ALLEGIANCE: Part of the trouble lies in a difference of opinion as to the allegiance of Jews. Israeli Premier David Ben-Gurion, reporting to the Knesset (parliament) on Nov. 28, denounced the "reign of terror on all Jews of Egypt who desire to hold fast to their Jewish faith, which is bound up with faith in a return to Zion . . ." That definition of Jewish faith would tend to make any Jew vulnerable in a country warring with Israel.

A Jewish leader in Egypt told Scripps-Howard correspondent Fred Sparks: "We have, without question, a struggle on our hands. All Jews in Egypt are suspects because Egypt, our country, has been at war with a Jewish state. Zionists should with common sense and in the name of God know that their complaints and threats about our situation—and they have distorted it—complicates our struggles. Just because we are members of the same church does not mean we salute the same flag. Germany and France are both Christian countries—but they have been fighting each other for centuries."

Chief Rabbi Haim Nahoum in Cairo told Sparks: "The Jews of Egypt represent an integral part of the Egyptian people. For this reason no foreign government, especially Israel, is authorized to speak on their behalf because, in the first place, we are Egyptians, and we are associated with them [the Egyptians] and their sentiments of independence and patriotism as sons of this country."

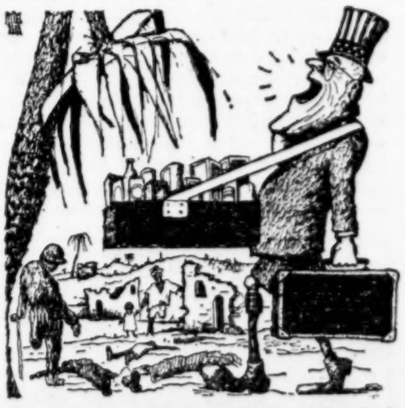
THE VICTIMS: Sparks reported no Hitler terror but real, if subtle, "shadowy persecution."

Jews have long been integrated into Egyptian society. There are no ghettoes. In the long hostilities between Arab and Jew since 1948, Egyptian Jews always feared reprisals but, said one Cairo Jewish leader, "it never got any further than a street-corner sneer." Even when Israel drove her armies across Sinai there were no round-ups of Jews. The government has spoken out against anti-Jewish violence and Jewish schools and synagogues are still open.

But the pursuit of "security risks," the house-to-house searches have inevitably taken on an anti-Jewish character and have often been brutal. The Jews who have fled from Egypt—1,000 in tightly packed ships to Italy, some 2,500 reportedly to Israel and none admitted to the U.S.—are casualties of war.

A "neutral Western diplomat" told Sparks: "Many people forget that Arab opposition to Israel is political—not religious. They regard Israel as a foreign colonial power because the leaders came from Europe and funds for the new state came—and are coming—from Europe and the U.S. It is the same attitude the Arabs have toward France in Algeria."

He compared Egypt's behavior toward the Jews with the U.S. treatment of Japanese after Pearl Harbor and added: "But you Americans went much further."



Mitelberg in Humanite, Paris
Bandages, mercurochrome, chewing gum, crutches, Coca Cola, death certificates, divorces—cheap.

THE KEYNOTE: UNITY AGAINST IMPERIALISM

China states its position in the Socialist debate

In the world-wide debate on the roads to socialism the Left has awaited some definitive statement from the Chinese. Events in Poland and Hungary stirred still more interest in the Chinese view, and the tour of China's Premier Chou En-lai, with its repercussions throughout the socialist world, have given Peking's point of view prime importance.

Late in December the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of China's CP met in Peking. The conclusions of that session were summed up in a 17,000 word article in the Dec. 29 issue of the newspaper Jen Min Jih Pao. *The world press gave fragmentary reports of the article, often contradictory. For the first time in the U.S. the GUARDIAN here offers a full summary of the Chinese statement, taken from a translation issued by the Soviet news agency* Tass.

THE KEYNOTE sounded persistently by the Chinese in their statement and in Premier Chou's negotiations is: unity of the socialist world against the imperialist world. There are two types of conflict cited:

The first is "between the imperialist camp and the socialist camp, between the imperialists on the one hand, and all the peoples of the world and all the oppressed nations, on the other, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in imperialist countries." The second type of contradiction comes "between one part of the people and the other, between one part and another part of the comrades in the CP, between the government and the people in the socialist countries, between the socialist countries, between the Communist Parties." The first contradictions are "radical," based in the clash of "hostile classes." The second stem from differences between "correct" and "erroneous" opinions or "interests of a partial nature."

The inner contradictions must be subordinated to the "common interests of struggle against the enemy" and resolved through "criticism or struggle" into a "fresh unity under new conditions." The Chinese see a possible danger that one side in the dispute among the popular forces may pass over "to the side of the enemy." This has happened, the Chinese say, in the past in the Soviet Union and in China. The job is to avoid putting the contradictions that lie within the family above those that lie between "us and our enemies . . . He who denies the class struggle and does not distinguish his own kind from enemies is by no means a Communist, by no means a Marxist-Leninist."

The Chinese statement restates an interpretation of Marxist fundamentals. These are highlights:

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT: Indispensable to the building of socialism, it must "closely combine dictatorship over the counter-revolutionary forces with the broadest people's democracy, that is socialist democracy." Though it is a dictatorship of "the working masses over the exploiters . . . of the majority over the minority," it cannot work unless it has active popular support. Even after destruction of the exploiting class, remnants of it will exist as long as imperialism does and therefore the dictatorship of the proletariat will be necessary. However, at such a time it ought to be turned mainly against foreign imperialist forces. To sharpen the class struggle internally after the substantial elimination of opposing classes hampers socialist democracy. This constituted one of Stalin's errors, now being corrected.

After the destruction of the exploiting class, democratic methods of administration can grow, laws can be "normalized," bureaucratic tendencies overcome.

DEMOCRACY: Even then "socialist democracy" is not to be confused with "bourgeois democracy." Socialist democracy aims only to strengthen socialism, cannot be used to weaken, attack or subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. It cannot be extended to enemies of socialism. Lenin called the dictatorship of the proletariat the "most essential part of Marxism."

TRANSFORMATION IN PEKING

Lo Sung-sheng (l.), representative of the capitalists, presents to Mao Tse-tung a letter telling of the successful changeover to socialism, and everyone is happy.

The preservation of proletarian rule may require discipline, stern measures, even violence. Engels said: "It is absurd to depict the principle of authority as absolutely bad and the principle of autonomy as absolutely good." Lenin warned of "the petty bourgeois scattering, instability, inability for self-restraint, unity and harmonious action which will inevitably kill any proletarian revolutionary movement if it is encouraged."

Imperialists seek to undermine the CP, "core of the proletariat," by demanding "liberalization" and expressing satisfaction over the "unstable situation" in certain socialist countries. "Democratic centralism" ought to be broadly democratic as well as centralized; but condemnation of shortcomings in that area and then correction must not bring about "disorder and confusion" hoped for by the enemy.

DOGMA AND REVISION: Stalin's mistakes encouraged dogmatists who "do not understand that the general principles of Marxism-Leninism can acquire their concrete expression and play their role . . . only through definite national features. They do not wish to undertake a serious study of the socio-historical features of a given country and a given nation . . . That is why they cannot advance the cause of the proletariat to victory."

The experience of the Soviet Union, "both the success and the failings, represent a priceless treasure to those who are ably studying it because it can help us in evading circuitous ways wherever possible and in lessening damage. And vice versa if the experience is copied indiscriminately, then even the experience of the Soviet Union's successes, to say nothing of its failings, may lead to reverses in other countries." Dogmatists in the Chinese CP from 1931-34 "denied the peculiar feature of China and copied certain experiences of the Russian revolution, as a result of which the revolutionary forces in our country suffered a serious defeat."

But opposing dogmatism has nothing to do with revising Marxism-Leninism. In China and elsewhere some hide behind "the creative development" of Marxism-Leninism, and deny its "universal truth." Because Stalin and other leaders violated socialist democracy, "certain unstable elements in the Communist ranks, hiding behind the development of socialist democracy, try to relax or deny the dictatorship of the proletariat, to relax or deny democratic centralism of the socialist countries, to relax or deny the leading role of the party."

Among those revising Marx and Lenin are some who deny the boundaries between the dictatorship of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism. "In their opinion it is possible to build socialism in certain bourgeois countries, bypassing the proletarian revolution led by the political party of the proletariat; in their opinion in these bourgeois countries state capitalism is already socialism, even entire human society is 'growing' into socialism."

These trends "play into the hands of imperialism" and "testify to the bankruptcy of revisionism."

THE SOVIET UNION: Pointing out that the main target of imperialists and revisionists is the Soviet Union, the Chinese sum up the 39-year old history of the first socialist state as a "grand success, the first triumphant hymn of Marxism-Leninism in the history of mankind, that has resounded throughout the universe."

The Soviet Union has raised an industrially backward, largely illiterate nation to the world's second industrial power with a highly developed socialist culture. It has abolished crises, unemployment, economic anarchy. It has inspired revolutionary movements around the world, liberated Eastern Europe, parts of China and Korea, formed a "bulwark of peace."

Still, "certain comrades" concentrate on "secondary aspects" that are "not of universal importance"; mistakes and failures which "no country can ever wholly avoid." The mistakes of Stalin were inevitable because he became "isolated from the masses" and "arbitrary." Though justly liquidating counter-revolutionaries, he also "presented unfounded accusations against many devoted Communists and good citizens and that resulted in grave damage." Though abiding by proper internationalist principles generally, on some questions Stalin tended toward "great power chauvinism and he lacked the spirit of equality . . . sometimes he even interfered incorrectly in the internal affairs of some of the fraternal countries and fraternal parties with many grave consequences."

Despite errors, Stalin "creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism . . . expressed the will of the people and was a worthy and outstanding fighter for Marxism-Leninism."

His mistakes are not traceable to the socialist system. Some stemmed from conditions in the Soviet Union, others from lack of experience inevitable in the building of the first socialist state. In any case, "however good a system may be, it cannot guarantee against serious mistakes in work. After a correct system has been set up, it is necessary in the first place to be able to apply this system correctly to conduct a correct political policy, to use correct methods and style of work."

The party and state in socialist countries have the job of bringing the mistakes to light "in good time" and correcting them. Stalin was "a great and steadfast" Communist who led the Soviet Union to great accomplishments and whose "tragedy lay precisely in the fact that even when he had committed mistakes, he believed that what he did was necessary for safeguarding the interests of the working people against enemy encroachments."

Right-wingers refer to "Stalinists" and "anti-Stalinists" in order to obscure the record. "Unfortunately, similar pronouncements are also circulated among some Communists. We consider such statements on the part of Communists extremely harmful."

Stalin and those who made similar mistakes must be treated "as comrades, not as enemies." Since their mistakes have historic and social roots, other leaders similarly placed could have committed them.

YUGOSLAVIA: The Chinese are critical of Yugoslav actions, but understanding: "The fact that the Yugoslav comrades feel a special hostility toward Stalin's mistakes can be understood. In the past, working under difficult conditions, the Yugoslav comrades exerted valuable efforts in the defense of socialism. In the factories and other public organizations they carried through experiments in democratic administration which have also attracted attention."

But the Chinese are "astounded" to hear "Comrade Tito" make "sallies against all socialist countries and against many Communist Parties." His attacks on "Stalinists" and "Stalinism" can only split the Communist movement. Tito is commended for his support of the Kadar government in Hungary but Edward Kardelj, vice-chairman of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council, is roundly criticised for advising the Hungarians to turn control over to the Workers Councils and not, in Kardelj's words, make "fruitless attempts to restore the Communist Party . . . a personification of bureaucratic despotism." The Yugoslavs, say the Chinese, "have gone rather beyond the limit."

HUNGARY: The uprising in Hungary is regarded by the Chinese as "imperialism's most serious offensive" since Korea. The Chinese cite "internal and external causes" for the outbreak and warn that "any one-sided interpretation would be incorrect" but they insist that the "basic and decisive role" was played by imperialism. The proletarian dictatorship was "not

(Continued on Page 7)

Good show!

To save petrol the Queen Mother used a small car when she travelled from Sandringham to King's Lynn—a distance of eight miles—to attend a concert there.

"Instead of travelling in the normal 36h.p. Daimler she arrived in an 18h.p. maroon Jaguar."

Evening News, London

Does it smell?

"THE NIKE." From the U. S. Army Recruiting Service came a float presenting the Nike, pioneer in guided missiles, built of flowers and set on a launching ramp of red and white carnations. At one-minute intervals, the sound of the Nike at take-off was reproduced, and the flash and smoke were portrayed with sweet peas, pansies, orchids, baby's breath and other flowers. Riding were two outstanding enlisted men from Sixth Army headquarters.

Los Angeles Examiner,
Jan. 2, 1957

BRITAIN: THE VOICE THAT SWALLOWED A MARBLE

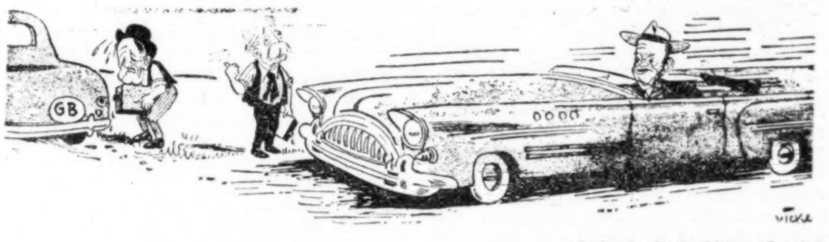
'Mack the Knife' takes over a shambles

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

TEN WEEKS after Prime Minister Eden led the Tories into their act of supreme dementia at Port Said, he left London again: this time not by plane for a Jamaican suntan, but—in a land starving for gasoline as a result of his folly—by one of Britain's beaten-up trains to tender his resignation to the Queen at Sandringham.

Next day over Buckingham Palace, behind the busbied sentries standing like statues or moving like clockwork toys from A to B and back, the flag shows that the Qûeen has hurried back to her base. The huge building's windows stare blankly without a sign of life. The "typical London crowd" that appears at the whiff of a "crisis", and draws a flock of press and newsreel cameramen almost as big as itself, clusters around the palace gate awaiting the man who will come to get the royal green light to form a new government.



Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

SOMEBODY DIED: Somewhere beneath the faces of these sidewalk superintendents—expressionless (though next day's papers call them "tense") except for a laughing, rosy-faced little girl perched on her father's shoulders—lies the inscrutable British soul. A muted voice breaks the near-silence asking why all the flags in sight save the one on the palace are at half-mast; a duffle-coated man says, "Somebody died in Austria. or something", and there are no further questions.

A column of horse-guards rides by, helmeted and with scarlet cloaks spread over the animals' rumps, as it has done at this time every day for generations; the guardsman on a white horse sounds a bugle and, as the column moves on down The Mall, a lady from the shires drawls to a retired-colonel type with a hearing aid and a tightly-rolled umbrella: "Quite a sight, that—but we can't hang on here indefinitely, can we?" A chauffeur-driven car passes into the Queen's yard with a man in the back seat: it is Lord Salisbury, now one of the top Tory triumvirate, but nobody recognizes him. The lady takes her escort's arm and as they march briskly away he comes up with a thought: "Rather amazin' bein' up in town this particular day, actually."

ANOTHER DRAMA: A bobby moving the obedient throng "back in line with the sentry" says fussily: "Anthony Eden won't be 'ere, I'll tell you that—'es not comin'." A "little old lady" in a cheap pink hat—the archetype of the "loyal subject" whom Fleet St. slaves are expected to interview or invent on such occasions—remarks: "I'm sorry about Sir Anthony—jolly bad luck I call it." There is no betting as to who will succeed Eden; he is the only Tory with any popular glamor whatever except old Sir Winston, who gets the only cheer as he drives in at 11.40 with a Union Jack-lined rug over his knees.

A mile away, another part of the post-Suez "drama" is being played out. It is once again a line of waiting Britons that has drawn a flock of cameramen to this refined residential street near Marble Arch. The men, women and children extend four abreast for nearly 100 yards; but it is a different kind of crowd because all of them are young, and dozens of the men are carrying babies, shifting them from one arm to the other as the line inches forward. Those in front have been here since 6 a.m., lastcomers may wait for the rest of the day only to be turned away. They are not concerned about who will now govern their country. The building into which they are slowly swallowed is the Canadian immigration office.

THE LAST STRAW: They are leaving Britain for a new land more in sorrow than in anger: still proud of their country, few of them clear as to the root of the trouble, all more or less perplexed. "I've been thinking of going for years", says one man; "Suez was just the last straw." An auto worker says: "I'm rather sorry for Eden really," and his wife chimes in: "No wonder he's ill after all that strain." A machinist says: "The newspapers are responsible for a lot of this mess—they should quiet down so the people can get on with the job. It's like anything else—you've got to get down to it."

A brief conversational stroll down the line indicates that it is the flower of the people the job needs—if and when the government gives a planned, sensible lead for getting on with it—who are getting out. No "lumpen" here but, with a sprinkling of schoolteachers, nurses and even clergymen among them, the inheritors of those skills which made "British manufacture" a hallmark of the best.

Numerically, the emigrant tide to Canada rose from 30,000 in 1955 to 45,000 in 1956; in 1957, last year's figure will be passed by March 1 at the present rate of some 6,000 applicants a week. Canada's problem is finding ships and planes to move 300,000 Britons across the Atlantic this year—the expected total now, although at first officials thought the "panic-surge" after Suez would soon abate. Emigration to Australia and New Zealand is reported rising even more sharply.

A SWALLOWED MARBLE: At 2 o'clock the new Prime Minister rides out of the palace. "There was no cheering", reports the afternoon paper under the banner headline: "The Question the Whole World Has Been Asking is Answered—IT'S MACMILLAN." In fact, not only does the whole world stifle a yawn; the British people itself could hardly care less. Later a voice that sounds as if it has swallowed a marble comes on the air and speaks of "my difficult task." Commentators stress his friendliness with John Foster Dulles and the Washington feeling that "Britain is stepping back into line with U.S. policy", and the new P.M.'s "toughness—he is never afraid to take hard and unpopular decisions."

Other news includes the empire-girdling Duke of Edinburgh's visit to the Falkland Islands, Britain's 2,200-population outpost in the South Atlantic, and an item suggesting one area in which Macmillan may get tough: the wage claims involving several million workers which are beginning to come up for arbitration. Meanwhile, says the radio, more factories have put workers on "post-Suez short-time."

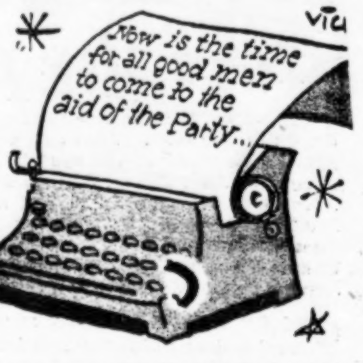
Macmillan's undistinguished background identifies him with the Tory right wing. An Old Etonian like Eden, his enthusiasms have included the policy of British H-bomb and guided-missile build-up, the "European common market project" and the Suez adventure. (On Suez Day he was out in Trafalgar Square debonairly selling the first "premium bonds", a lottery gimmick for filling the depleted coffers.)

As Chancellor of the Exchequer, a post in which he earned the nickname "Mack the Knife", he said he "liked the idea" of spending on new factories and higher living standards but grim reality made it necessary to "cut down a bit." The **Manchester Guardian** after a close inspection declares him to be "an individualist but not an advocate of stark capitalism." The **Times** says he is "essentially a man of good will and he has the capacity to engender it." Perhaps he is and has; one would need to move in his country-house aristocrat circle to know.

"NO ROAD BACK": Presumably some of those who put him in the driver's seat see him as a Prime Minister who on all fronts, domestic and foreign, is prepared not only to "send our troops in" but to keep them there regardless of left-wing and alien outcries. That such a "tough" right-wing policy at this stage can achieve any more than to deepen the national shambles and lengthen the emigrant queues, not even the **Times** believes.

Greeting Macmillan editorially, it sees "no future for the [Tory] party electorally if its course does not remain progressive [as the **Times** thinks it has been under Eden up to Suez] . . . But there is no doubt that the old guard of the party will be encouraged and fortified [by Macmillan's succession to leadership] to try to turn their rearguard action into an offensive one . . . There is only a road forward for Conservatism; there is no road back."

GERMANY RECALLED: Significantly, the **Times** on the same day features a letter from Graham Hutton pointing to the "deep and wide malaise, akin to despair, among us" and—in the context of a plea for the professional class as against the trade unionist—uneasily recalling what such a malaise led to in Germany between the wars.


Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of the Party...

Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

CONSERVATIVE CHRISTMAS PRESENT

Sensational new typewriter which writes automatically.

Meanwhile the voice of the "encouraged and fortified" right-wingers booms forth from such a business and financial columnist as S. W. Alexander, who in the **City Press** calls for "Ratepayers' Vigilance Associations throughout the country" to open fire with a "huge procession and march on County Hall" (seat of London's Labour-dominated County Council). Next, says Alexander, it must be explained to the people "how wrong is the policy of full employment" and "how it involves people being paid for useless purposes."

And again in the **Times**, a right-wing group calls in a half-page advertisement for a "Third World Force" which would be "more powerful by far than UN and stronger than either Soviet Russia or the U.S."—a West Europe and British Commonwealth united for "development forthwith" of Africa with its "immense resources", "cheap coal" and "other valuable products."

PILLARS ARE DOWN: Such voices ring hollow now. The social, economic and political shambles Macmillan inherits is far greater than most of the Tories, and many Labourites, can yet appreciate. Only Malcolm Muggeridge, editor of the humorous weekly **Punch**, has observed (**New Statesman & Nation**, 12/8/56) what the Suez fiasco has done on the social level to "shake and derange the whole class system in this country." Until Suez, Muggeridge noted, Britain's ruling class survived as had no other by a process of superficial but highly skillful concession and adaptation; but Eden "has succeeded in demolishing all the assumptions on which his own, his party's and his class's fortunes have hitherto rested." In "pulling down the pillars" of a social edifice he differed from Samson only in that Samson "remained in the resultant ruins" instead of flying to Jamaica.

The Tories may soon choose the political lesser evil of passing the buck to Labour, which would win in a general election. The political "drama" will become dramatic when the next act begins, starring Prime Minister Hugh Gaitskell, the public-school Labourite to whom the "Suez" Tories—they hope and pray, without justification—have been imputing the class treason of really being a socialist. Whether he is indeed such a villain will be revealed when the curtain falls and rises again in Westminster. Many Labourites expect this to happen before the voice that swallowed a marble has had time to become very familiar to the nation regurgitating the bitter cud of Suez.

Chinese view

(Continued from Page 6)

properly established" in Hungary and counter-revolutionaries not properly controlled in the first decade of socialist rule. But when Hungary reached "the crossroads of revolution and counter-revolution, socialism and fascism, peace and war" some "intellectual Communists" failed to support the dictatorship of the proletariat and instead assailed "the just actions of the Soviet Union."

To the Chinese the facts demonstrate that "'socialists' who shout about democracy isolated from the dictatorship of the proletariat actually come out on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, actually come out for capitalism and against socialism, although, perhaps, many of them do not realize this."

EAST EUROPE: Stalin's mistakes caused dissatisfaction in some quarters but bourgeois nationalists in East Europe can be a danger as well, concealing the fate that would have befallen these countries under imperialist domination. The Poles and Hungarians are applauded for suppressing anti-Soviet rumors that fan national antagonisms and nationalist prejudices.

In the face of "furious" attack by imperialists, socialist unity and solidarity is a must. The failures within the Communist movement are partial and short-lived. The conflicts can be corrected. But in the conflict between imperialism and the people of the world the "clashes are becoming more and more acute and there is no doctor who could find a remedy with which to cure this disease."

The "new-founded system of dictatorship of the proletariat" has difficulties and many "weak links." Still, "however tortuous the path before us may be, mankind will nevertheless in the end reach the bright aim—communism—and there is no force which can prevent this."

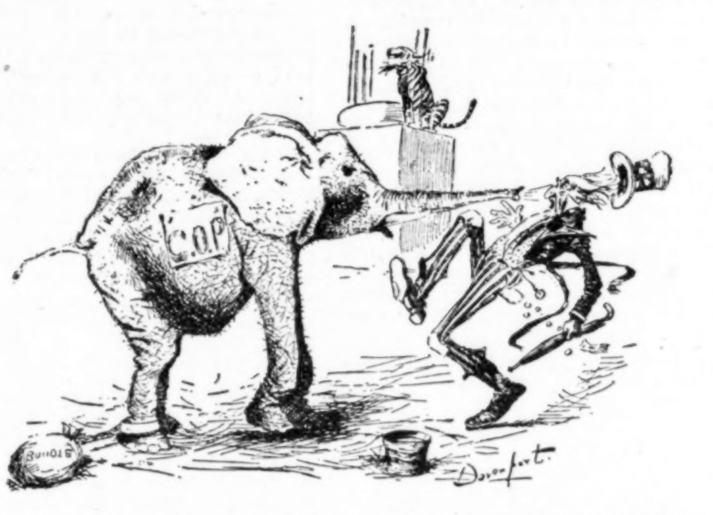
FROM RANDOLPH BOURNE'S "UNTIMELY PAPERS"

How the party leaders took over as kingmakers

Randolph S. Bourne was one of the most trenchant literary radicals in the second decade of this century. His time must thus be circumscribed because he died at the peak of his power at the age of 32, a victim of the flu epidemic of 1918. An early disciple of John Dewey, his opposition to World War I led him to join the radical movement. Bourne's History of a Literary Radical *(1920), edited by Van Wyck Brooks, showed his stature as a philosopher and critic. The following excerpt (second of three) was taken from an unfinished Bourne essay on the state in his* Untimely Papers *(1919). The essay's applicability to the present American political scene is striking.*

ONE OF THE LARGER errors of political insight which the sage founders of the Constitution committed was to assume that the enfranchised watch-dogs of property and the public order would remain a homogeneous class. Washington, acting strictly as the mouthpiece of the unified State ideal, deprecated the growth of parties and of factions which horridly keep the State in turbulence or threaten to rend it asunder. But the monarchical and repressive policies of Washington's own friends promptly generated an opposition democratic party representing the landed interests of the ruling classes, and the party system was fastened on the country. By the time the electorate had succeeded in reducing the electoral college to a mere recorder of the popular vote, or in other words, had broadened the class of notables to the whole property-holding electorate, the parties were firmly established to carry on the selective and refining and securing work of the electoral college. The party leadership then became, and has remained ever since, the nucleus of notables who determine the presidency. The electorate having won an apparently democratic victory in the destruction of the notables, finds itself reduced to the role of mere ratification or selection between two or three candidates, in whose choice they have only a nominal share. The electoral college which stood between even the propertied electorate and the executive with the prerogatives of a king, gave place to a body which was just as genuinely a bar to democratic expression, and far less responsible for its acts. The nucleus of party councils which became, after the reduction of the Electoral College, the real choosers of the Presidents were unofficial, quasi-anonymous, utterly unchecked by the populace whose rulers they chose. More or less self-chosen, or chosen by local groups whom they dominated, they provided a far more secure guarantee that the State should remain in the hands of the ruling classes than the old electoral college. The party councils could be loosely organized entirely outside of the governmental organization, without oversight by the State or check from the electorate. They could be composed of the leaders of the propertied classes themselves or their lieutenants, who could retain their power indefinitely, or at least until they were unseated by rivals within the same charmed domain. They were at least entirely safe from attack by the officially constituted electorate, who, as the party system became more and more firmly established, found they could vote only on the slates set up for them by unknown councils behind an imposing and all-powerful "Party."

AS SOON as this system was organized into a hierarchy extending from national down to state and county politics, it became perfectly safe to broaden the electorate. The clamors of the unpropertied or the less propertied to share in the selection of their democratic republican government could be graciously acceded to without endangering in the least the supremacy of those classes which the founders had meant to be supreme. The minority were now even more effectually protected from the majority than under the old system, however indirect the election might be. The electorate was now reduced to a ratifier of slates, and as a ratifier of slates, or a chooser between two slates, both of which were pledged to upper-class domination, the electorate could have the freest, most universal suffrage, for any mass-desire for political change, any determined will to shift the class-balance, would be obliged to register itself through the party machinery. It could make no frontal attack on the Government. And the party machinery was directly devised to absorb and neutralize this popular shock, handing out to the disgruntled electorate a disguised stone when it asked for political bread, and effectually smashing any third party which ever avariciously tried to reach government except through the regular two-party system.



A breeze of prosperity. (A turn of the century cartoon by Davenport)

The party system succeeded, of course, beyond the wildest dreams of its creators. It relegated the founders of the Constitution to the role of doctrinaire theorists, political amateurs. Just because it grew up slowly to meet the needs of ambitious politicians and was not imposed by ruling class fiat, as was the Constitution, did it have a chance to become assimilated, worked into the political intelligence and instinct of the people, and be adopted gladly and universally as a genuine political form, expressive both of popular need and ruling-class demand. It satisfied the popular demand for democracy. The enormous sense of victory which followed the sweeping away of property qualifications of suffrage, the tangible evidence that now every citizen was participating in public affairs, and that the entire manhood democracy was now self-governing, created a mood of political complacency that lasted uninterruptedly into the twentieth century. The party system was thus the means of removing political grievance from the greater part of the populace, and of giving to the ruling classes the hidden but genuine permanence of control which the Constitution had tried openly to give them. It supplemented and repaired the ineptitudes of the Constitution. It became the unofficial but real government, the instrument which used the Constitution as its instrument.

ONLY IN TWO CASES did the party system seem to lose its grip, was it thrown off its base by the inception of a new party from without—in the election of Jackson and Lincoln. Jackson came in as the representative of a new democratic West which had no tradition of suffrage qualifications, and Lincoln as a minority candidate in a time of factional and sectional strife. But the discomfiture of the party politicians was short. The party system proved perfectly capable of assimilating both of these new movements. Jackson's insurrection was soon captured by the old machinery and fed the slavocracy, and Lincoln's party became the property of the new bonanza capitalism. Neither Jackson or Lincoln made the slightest deflection in the triumphal march of the party-system. In practically no other contests has the electorate had for all practical purposes a choice except between two candidates, identical as far as their political role would be as representatives of the significant classes in the State. Campaigns such as Bryan's, where one of the parties is captured by an element which seeks a real transference of power from the significant to the less significant classes, split the party, and sporadic third party attacks merely throw the scale one way or the other between the big parties, or, if threatening enough, produce a virtual coalition against them.

NEXT WEEK: The state, the people and war.

"PARTNERSHIP" PLAN OPPOSED

Public Power Assn. opens war on atomic energy monopolies

By Reuben W. Borough

LOS ANGELES

ARRAYING itself obliquely against President Eisenhower's program for "partnership" with the private power interests, the board of directors of the American Public Power Assn. was on record last week for a Federal atomic power program that would assure continued and expanding competition by public groups with the power monopoly.

In a statement to be submitted for ratification at the national convention in May, the board asserted that the Federal government's program "to develop practical applications of atomic energy should include a vigorous and determined effort to develop atomic power plants capable of producing electric energy at costs competitive with the costs of energy from conventional sources."

William S. Peterson, APPA president, called the presentations "the most comprehensive policy statement on atomic power issued to date by any national organization."

A LINE IS DRAWN: The association is the voice of public ownership advocates throughout the nation. It represents more than 800 local publicly-owned electric utilities in 40 states, Puerto Rico and Alaska. Apprehensive of the monopoly trends of Big Business politics, the association apparently feels compelled to draw the line against the contraction and the ultimate obliteration of public atomic power development and operation.

Atomic power plants should be constructed by the Federal government, the association said.

These plants "should be regarded as multiple purpose projects to the extent that they not only produce power but provide opportunities for research and development, sources of radiation for industrial, medical or research purposes or other benefits."

The traditional American policy of "preferential rights" of the public (which the Eisenhower Administration is industriously trying to scuttle) was defended by the association. And such power as private companies receive (in the absence of demand from public bodies), it said, should not be regarded as a permanent right.

LET U.S. OWN THEM: On contracts, it said: "Contracts of Federal agencies for the sale of power to privately-owned utilities should be limited in time and should contain provisions for modification upon reasonable terms to the extent necessary to protect the preference of public agencies and co-operatives within the area."

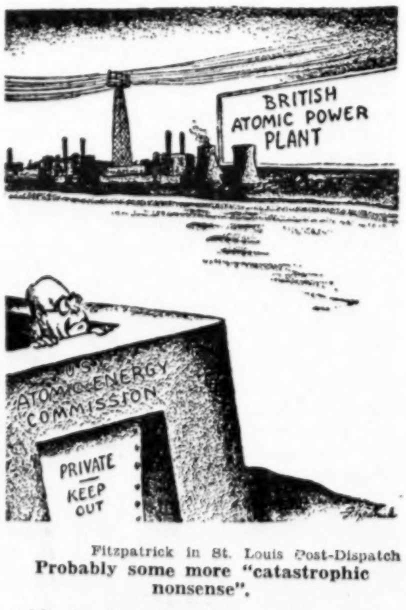
If transmission lines are needed to connect the Federal atomic power plants with public agencies and co-operatives, the association said, the U.S. should construct them and own them.

The Federal government, it declared, should push rural electrification as rapidly as possible to meet the expanding needs of the farm population and to "maintain and strengthen the rural co-operatives".

"Appropriate federal agencies should undertake more extensive research in the design and construction of atomic power plants expressly designed for rural system utilization," it declared.

RADIATION DANGERS: The dangers of atomic power are frankly recognized. "The utilization and production of special nuclear materials," the statement warned, "require special attention to avoid hazards to the health and safety of employes and of the public. The Federal government and state and local authorities should take fully adequate measures, subject to appropriate safeguards for the rights of applicants and licensees, to assure protection of the public health and safety at all times.

"In view of the unusual nature of the hazards and the possible extensive consequences of a serious accident, however unlikely, the Federal government should retain final authority on standards in atomic energy health and safety regulation."



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Probably some more "catastrophic nonsense".

Chinese-Soviet

(Continued from Page 1)

a real danger. But by substantial concessions to the Church, the government had won its support. Incomplete election returns indicated an "overwhelming" vote of confidence for the government—with more than 90% of the people voting, and more than 70% voting as the government had urged.

HUNGARIAN CRISIS: The socialist world faced a continuing test in Hungary where the economic situation, already difficult, may become critical before the next harvest unless it receives outside help, according to a UN survey. Hungary is receiving "substantial help" from the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries and will get more, according to UN Under Secretary Philippe de Seynes, who visited Budapest Jan. 4-7; but it would need further imports of food, livestock feed, fertilizer, he said, to insure an adequate food supply in coming months. UN Assembly resolutions provide only for emergency relief to the people. Need for this type of relief, the de Seynes report said, could be considerably reduced in duration and volume by steps designed to restore full use of productive capacity. But UN aid of this latter type seemed highly unlikely since Western governments would probably regard it as strengthening the present regime.

But for all the problems faced by socialist countries, the U.S.S.R. and China appeared to be launching a more active diplomacy, especially in the Middle East and on the question of disarmament. Their joint statement promised Middle Eastern peoples "necessary support . . . so as to prevent aggression and interference in the affairs of the countries of this area" and emphasized again the Soviet disarmament proposals of Nov. 17 which had gone far to meet the U.S. stand.

U.S. PRESSES CAIRO: The warning that the U.S.S.R. and China would together combat the "Eisenhower Doctrine" came at a time when this proposed "arsenal of means of intervention," as Pierre Mendes-France called it, was meeting strong Congressional opposition to its economic aid provisions. Senators' mail was reported running against it. But this opposition did not interfere with stepped-up U.S. pressure on the neutralist countries of the Middle East, especially Egypt.

In recent weeks Washington has rejected: (1) a renewed Egyptian demand for unfreezing its assets in the U.S. (worth $50 million); (2) a request for release of only $5 million of these funds to buy medicine in the U.S.; and (3) a request to buy 200,000 tons of surplus U.S. wheat. In the same period, the State Dept. announced that Israel had been granted the right to purchase $1.9 million worth of surplus American corn. The rebuffs to Egypt were coupled with clear indications that, as the **N.Y. Times** put it, "the future of U.S. economic relations with Egypt . . . depended very much on the degree of Egyptian cooperation in solving the political problems of the Middle East."

NASSER'S ANSWER: President Nasser made these counter-moves:

- Decided to "Egyptianize" French and British banks and insurance companies immediately and those of other countries within five years; and to set up an Economic Organization to control investment, industrial development and use of capital. (These decrees do not affect industrial companies and Egypt is still inviting foreign investment at favorable terms. But they are an important step toward a more planned and independent development of the economy.)
- Successfully appealed to the U.S.S.R. for wheat and medicine refused by the U.S.
- Met in Cairo with leaders of Saudi Arabia, Syria and Jordan. There, agreement was reached to provide Jordan with a $33.6 million annual subsidy to replace that paid by Britain for use of bases in Jordan. The Jordan government can now carry out the apparent mandate of the last elections to abrogate the unequal treaty with Britain and pursue an independent foreign policy. (Jordan has also asked the U.S. for about $30 million in aid, with no strings attached, to replace U.S. technical assistance which is universally hated throughout the Middle East, and in Jordan has amounted to about $34 million in six years.)

SAUD BRIEFED: The Cairo meeting also decided that King Saud of Saudi Arabia convey to President Eisenhower during his visit the opposition of the four Arab powers to the theory that the Middle East was a "vacuum" to be filled. (The invitation to Saud had been publicized as a move to isolate Egypt.)

In an interview with Athens' **Evening Ethnos** Nasser (on his 39th birthday) contrasted the help given his country by the U.S.S.R. with rebuffs from the U.S. and expressed anew his determination to pursue an independent policy. He said: "This does not mean I am either pro-East or pro-West. I am pro-Egypt and we want complete independence." His bargaining power is considerably strengthened by the Soviet-Chinese communique.

The Soviet-Chinese initiative may also have some effect in current disarmament discussions. The Washington **Post** (1/16) characterized the U.S.S.R.'s Nov. 17 proposals, repeated in the UN debate, as "serious suggestions which may well warrant more reciprocity than they have received." The **Post** added publicly what a good many UN delegates have been saying privately: "It is distressing, therefore, that Mr. Lodge made no mention of the Soviet proposal for a demilitarized zone in Central Europe with ground and air inspection."

NEUTRALIZATION: This proposal was in effect an acceptance for a specified area in Central Europe of the U.S.'s "open skies" plan. It would involve joint U.S. and Soviet troop withdrawals, at least from Germany, and ultimately point to a neutralized Germany. Hence the cautious U.S. approach. But as the **N.Y. Times** (1/20) pointed out, the "U.S. cannot ignore indefinitely" this Soviet offer. It has won wide attention in W. Europe and even in the U.S.

An index of the changed climate is the fact that James Burnham, one of the loudest advocates of "liberation" not so long ago, urged in the right-wing **National Review** (1/19) just such a joint troop withdrawal and "neutralization" of the area—which he calls "generalizing the Austrian formula." Burnham's point is that the seven-year period of stabilization (1949-56) is over and that the "new phase of the struggle" requires "not an abandonment of the strategy of liberation . . . but an application of that strategy to political realities. . ."

Back of the talk on "neutralization" in Europe is the assumption, real or pretended, that the socialist world is falling apart. But if the socialist world has shown weaknesses in the past year, the weaknesses of the capitalist alliance have been more glaring. Moreover, socialist countries seem to be moving toward a new stability, while in the capitalist world stabilization seems ever more distant. That "neutralization" can be seriously discussed in the U.S. shows the real direction of the world power balance.

ARAB LEADERS IN A THREE-WAY HANDSHAKE
L. to r. Syrian President Shukri al-Kuwatly, King Saud of Saudi Arabia and Egyptian President Nasser.

THE STORY OF HOLMES FOUNDRY

Automation in Canada

IN JUNE, 1954, there were 475 men at work in the Sarnia, Ontario, plant of Holmes Foundry turning out 3,984 engine blocks a week for Ford. In 1955 the foundry was mechanized, not fully automated by a long shot, but posing a plain threat in swiftly increased production quotas, in lay-offs as new machines were installed.

That year the men, organized into United Auto Workers Local 456, walked out in Canada's first "automation" strike. They demanded and won a 40-hour week with the take-home pay they had been receiving for 48 hours. For a while that victory reduced the casualty list of partial automation. Only 100 men were dropped from the payroll.

By the end of 1956, even with the reduced work force, a 40-hour week, a five-week shut-down in the summer and several four-day weeks, the plant was over producing. The rate was up to 5,870 engine blocks a week.

THE FINAL BLOW: Len Baker, recording secy. of Local 456, told **Labor's Daily** (1/9) that "with over 100 less workers and working one day a week less, we were producing nearly 2,000 blocks a week more."

Before "mechanization" 14 men produced 1,328 jacket cores a day. By last December two men were turning out 2,200 a day.

Early this month the final blow came. Holmes Foundry shut down altogether for at least six months because the year's production quota had been reached in half the time it used to take.

Automation enthusiasts have told labor there was no need to worry because industry would expand with automation and absorb workers in new plants, though there might be some lags and maladjustments. For the engine makers of Sarnia the lag was a catastrophe. Union leader Baker estimated that the 40-hour week saved 50 jobs (at least on a half-year basis.) He said: "Another 50 or so jobs might have been saved, had we been able to win the 32-hour week."

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ISRAEL-ARAB ISSUE

UN is seeking to break impasse on Gaza Strip

DEBATE IN THE United Nations during the week of Jan. 14 indicated that UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold was finding it difficult to close the books on the invasion of Egypt. The trouble stemmed from Israel's unwillingness to withdraw her troops—in accordance with the UN resolution of last Nov. 2—unconditionally behind the armistice lines.

Israel has insisted that she cannot give up control of the Gaza Strip and the Gulf of Aqaba because such a step would mean a renewal of Arab commando raids and blockade of Israeli ships. "Any withdrawal of military forces from the western coast of the Gulf of Aqaba and from the Gaza Strip," Israeli Ambassador Abba Eban said during the UN debate, "should be accompanied by related measures to prevent renewal of conflict by land or by sea." Israel contended that such conflicts in the past provoked her attack on Egypt.

ASIA-AFRICA STAND: But Egypt's ambassador to the UN Mahmoud Fawzi called on the UN Assembly "to decide whether or not aggression shall be allowed to reign, to rule, to decide any issues and to bear fruit for the aggressors." He felt the Assembly had to demand "Israel's withdrawal from territory which through aggression it occupied after its attack on Egypt."

Some Western delegates felt Israel was justified in demanding guarantees against resumption of commando raids and blockade of shipping before quitting Gaza and the Aqaba coast. These delegates suggested that the UN Emergency Force might patrol both areas pending a permanent settlement of the Israeli-Egyptian conflict.

The Asian-African group, however, objected to this line of reasoning. India's Krishna Menon pointed out that UNEF was empowered only to supervise the withdrawal of Anglo-French-Israeli forces from Egyptian soil; it had not been authorized to guard any borders indefinitely, to act in any way as an occupation force. "Any emendation, any enlargement of the functions of the UNEF," Menon said, "would require basic reconsideration, consultation and agreement by all the parties concerned."

FIVE DAYS TO LEAVE: Menon also said that the UNEF was "functioning without any restraint from a legislature or a government, and we ourselves would not want [to see] this army assuming the responsibilities involving the use of lethal weapons without the previous commitment of our governments."

In a cautious progress report Hammarskjold implied that Egypt had no right to blockade the Gulf of Aqaba. However, he said the UN Nov. 2 resolution did not empower him to deal with this issue. His duty, as he saw it, was to get Israeli troops to quit Egypt swiftly.

On Jan. 19, at an unusual Saturday session, the UN voted 74 to 2 in favor of a resolution sponsored by 25 nations (mostly Asian-African) calling upon Hammarskjold to secure complete withdrawal of Israel troops from Egyptian soil and to report back to the UN in five days. Israel and France voted against it.

Trying desperately to prevent an unqualified return to the status quo before the war, Israel on Jan. 22 made a new proposal to Hammarskjold: she would withdraw her troops from Gaza if Israeli civilian and police forces would be allowed to administer the strip under UN supervision, pending a definitive settlement with Egypt.

However, the issue was destined to come up for further UN debate, since several delegates doubted that the Secretary General would accept the Israeli proposal without Assembly approval.

Ike's budget

(Continued from Page 1)

and world peace." (At the present time the armed forces of 38 nations get military equipment and training from the U.S.; total cost of foreign aid is projected at $4,400,000,000).

FOR BETTER BOMBS: Despite disarmament talk, there is no slackening in building bigger and better bombs: "We shall continue to expand our nuclear arsenal until an agreement has been reached for reduction and regulation of armaments under safeguarded inspection guarantees."

Expenditures for guided missiles, the ultimate weapon for push-botton war, are to be increased 35%: "Our mission is to maintain ready nuclear-air-retaliatory forces so strong that they will deter a potential aggressor from initiating an attack."

WILL GEORGE DO IT? The Congressional "economy" bloc was certain to give the budget a close going-over, and it made it clear that it expected help from Secy. Humphrey in paring it down. It was equally certain that cuts would be made in expenditures for civil benefits and not in the fantastic war spending. Humphrey himself told a news conference: "We must seek the full cooperation of the public generally in limiting its demands upon the Federal government for only essential Federal functions."

In his legislative proposals, the President startled most politicians by himself sponsoring the oil industry's long effort to free natural gas producers from Federal price limitations. The natural gas bill in the last Congress was sponsored by oil-state Democrats and kicked up one of the biggest scandals when the oil lobby was found attempting to buy Congressional votes. Despite that, the measure passed both houses but the deal was so smelly that the President vetoed it. But in his budget message he declared: "Legislation freeing gas producers from public utility-type regulation is essential." The Presidential blessing would seem to free the oil lobby itself from the need to exert the pressure it applied last time.

THE 5-CENT STAMP: Mr. Eisenhower not only called for a boost in postal rates but seemed to take such a boost for granted by basing his budget on an expected elimination of a $600,000,000 post office deficit. The plan is to charge 5c for a 3c stamp. The President also took a swipe at home-owning veterans by calling for a rise in interest rates on Veterans Administration-insured home mortgages.

The Presidential legislative program made no mention of Taft-Hartley Law revisions and envisaged no change in existing farm legislation, although $5,000,000,000 was asked for the Administration's farm program, including the soil bank. While many features of the soil bank have merit (it is an old New Deal notion), the manner of its adoption by the Eisenhower-Benson team prompted many a Washington cynic to view it as a method of buying farm votes with cash money. The proposed farm appropriation is $2,000,000 000 more than was asked by Harry Truman in his last full year in office. The President also asked authority to make agricultural barter arrangements with Eastern European countries.

SKY HIGH—AND THEN? On the whole, the legislative program outlined in the budget message consisted of measures Mr. Eisenhower failed to get from the

(Continued on p. 11)

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PATRONIZE GUARDIAN ADVERTISERS

Ike's budget

(Continued from Page 10)

84th Congress.

Many an expert saw the budget as inflationary, the very thing the President inveighed against in his State of the Union address. If social security and unemployment compensation payments, and funds earmarked for the highway program are added to Federal outlays for the coming year, then the total adds up to an astronomical $92,900,000,000. Even without these expenditures (which come from trust funds not included in the budget), the President's money requests add up to $416 for every man, woman and child in the country, with most of it going for non-productive war spending.

But this didn't faze a staunch old Republican journal like the New York **Herald Tribune,** which declared: "In the light of the fluid and dangerous world situation the question is not whether the President is asking too much but whether he is asking enough."

IN NEW YORK

Civil liberties parley Jan. 30

THE Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is sponsoring a Conference on Self-Defense Against Unconstitutional Intrusions, at the Biltmore Hotel in New York on Wednesday, Jan. 30, from 7:30 to 10:30 p.m. Prof. Thomas I. Emerson will preside. Dr. Otto Nathan will lead the discussion on the First Amendment; Ephraim London on the Fifth Amendment, and John Scudder on political action.

Other participants include Dr. Harry Slochower, George Tyne, Lloyd Barenblatt, John Gojack, Dr. Chandler Davis. Pete Seeger and his banjo will open proceedings precisely at 7:30 p.m.

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CALENDAR

Chicago

FILM FORUM—Chicago's only Soviet film outlet. "Under Sunny Skies" (musical) and "For Friendship & Cooperation" (British-Soviet cultural exchange). Fri., Feb. 8, Milda Hall, 3142 S. Halsted, 8 p.m. Sun., Feb. 10, Chopin Center, 1547 N. Leavitt, 3 p.m. Adm. 90c.

American Socialist Forum
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New York

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Feb. 15th: "American Labor Politics—Democratic Party or Third Party?" Speakers: **RUSS NIXON, TOM KERRY, ROBERT CLAIBORNE.**

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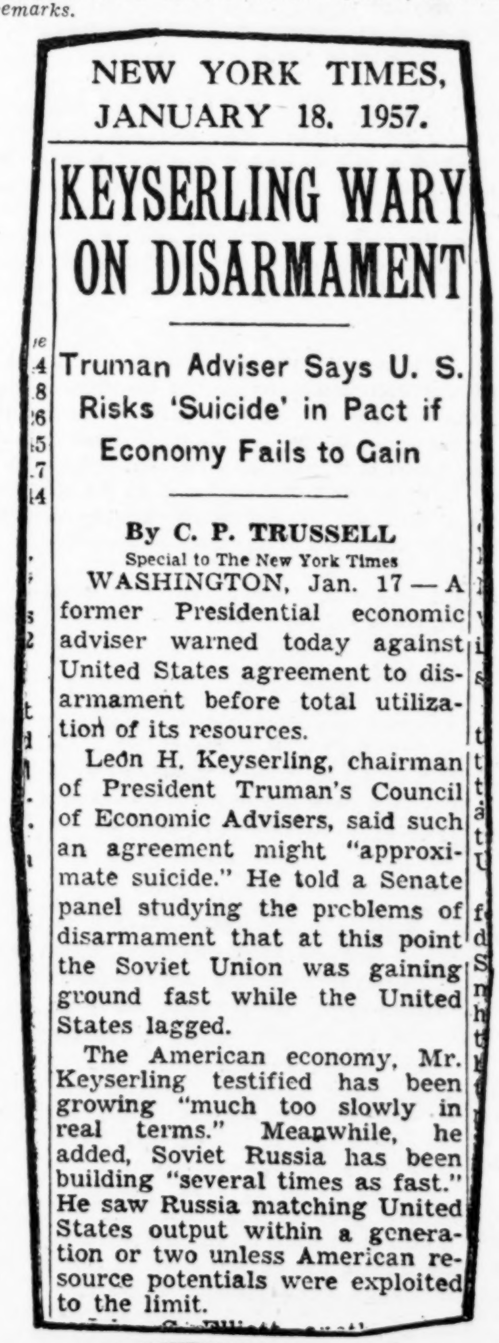
What Price Prosperity?

With the people of the world gaining new hope from indications that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. might yet agree to the beginnings of disarmament (see Guardian *p. 1, 1/21/57), a disquieting note was injected last week by economist Leon Keyserling. It would seem, according to Mr. Keyserling, that we need inflated armament spending to support our economy. One cannot help wondering could not our economy be based on more wholesome and less dangerous production than armaments? To paraphrase George Bernard Shaw's Bill Sykes, "what price prosperity, now?"*

We reprint below the N.Y. Times *report of Mr. Keyserling's remarks.*



NEW YORK TIMES, JANUARY 18. 1957.

KEYSERLING WARY ON DISARMAMENT

Truman Adviser Says U. S. Risks 'Suicide' in Pact if Economy Fails to Gain

By C. P. TRUSSELL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17—A former Presidential economic adviser warned today against United States agreement to disarmament before total utilization of its resources.

Leon H. Keyserling, chairman of President Truman's Council of Economic Advisers, said such an agreement might "approximate suicide." He told a Senate panel studying the problems of disarmament that at this point the Soviet Union was gaining ground fast while the United States lagged.

The American economy, Mr. Keyserling testified has been growing "much too slowly in real terms." Meanwhile, he added, Soviet Russia has been building "several times as fast." He saw Russia matching United States output within a generation or two unless American resource potentials were exploited to the limit.

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The use of these pills has become so widespread that the industry has grown to huge proportions. And, because it concerns health, it as permitted the worst price gouging imaginable. The public has been well educated to the need for food supplements but intentionally uninitiated into the economics of the industry. With the public very "brand conscious" the large companies have sold tens of millions of vitamin pills and capsules at prices that bear no relation to production costs.

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Niacinamide	40 mg.
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the SPECTATOR

The Irish rebels

IN HIS ONE-ACT PLAY, Cathleen ni Houlihan, W. B. Yeats depicts Ireland as a gnarled old woman who becomes young and beautiful when her sons forsake hearth and home to rally around her in the age-old fight for Irish freedom. Last week, in a now partitioned Ireland, this transformation took place once again as the sons of Cathleen, the daughter of Houlihan, stepped up their efforts to sever the last link that binds them to England.

The opening gun in the new campaign to end British occupation of Northern Ireland was fired on Dec. 12. On that day, the outlawed Irish Republican Army issued a proclamation calling on the Irish people at home and abroad to sink their political and religious differences and to "rally behind the banner of national liberation." In the weeks since, guerrilla bands operating from mountain fastnesses in Northern Ireland and from bases just across the border in nominally independent Ireland have waged an intensive hit-and-run warfare against British occupation forces.

THE NEW UPRISING brought quick official reaction. In Northern Ireland, the authorities imposed virtual martial law in many areas, carried out mass arrests of nationalist sympathizers and called on Britain to send in more troops. Late dispatches liken Northern Ireland to an armed camp, with British troops blowing up bridges in border areas, cratering roads and engaging in widespread searches for elusive I.R.A. bands in mountainous areas.

Meanwhile, both Britain and Northern Ireland pressured the Dublin government into taking action against I.R.A. units operating along the border. Hundreds of young men were rounded up by Irish troops and by police of the Special Branch (the political police). The prisoners were rushed to Dublin and given sentences up to six months for being members of an illegal organization; and for refusing to account for their movements. The relatively light sentences were interpreted to mean that the Dublin government (which would like to forget the problem of partition except as material for St. Patrick's Day speeches) is conscious of the mounting mass support for I.R.A. objectives.

That this support exists was clearly demonstrated two weeks ago when the body of a slain guerrilla fighter, Sean South, was taken by slow-moving, horse-drawn hearse from the border to Limerick City. At Dundalk workers defied their employers and walked off their jobs to march in the funeral procession. When the cortege reached Dublin, 200,000 people stood with bowed heads along the line of march. When the procession finally reached Limerick, all business ceased for the day and the entire city turned out to pay homage to the slain youth.

ALTHOUGH acutely aware of the people's sympathy for the Resistance, the Dublin authorities nonetheless made public a document purportedly detailing the guerrilla campaign to be carried out by the I.R.A. against Northern Ireland. The political police claimed they had found the document in the home of a 34-year-old Dublin journalist, Sean Cronin. The public reading of the document at Cronin's trial in Dublin last week was viewed as a bitter blow to the I.R.A. cause. One I.R.A. source described the government's action as "the greatest betrayal of Ireland since the Union (the parliament Act of 1800 forcing a union of England and Ireland)."

To understand the present struggle for national unity one must go back to 1916 when nationalist elements—backed by working-class groups—staged an open revolt against British imperial power and proclaimed an Irish Republic. The revolt was crushed within a week but the liberation movement gained momentum until, in 1918, an overwhelming majority of the voters registered support for a 32-county Irish Republic. Britain refused to accept this verdict; it waged war on the Irish people. At the height of the struggle, London severed six of Ireland's counties from the other 26 and set up a puppet regime known as Northern Ireland.

WITHIN A YEAR, Britain consented to a limited form of freedom for the remaining counties and the Irish Free State was born. The Irish Republican movement refused to accept this division of Ireland. A tragic civil war ensued. The new Free State government, backed by Britain, crushed the Republicans. In the intervening years, successive Irish governments have whittled away the last links binding the twenty-six counties with England but partition still remains. In addition, successive governments in Dublin have failed to solve Ireland's growing economic ills, demonstrated in the continued emigration of her citizens.

At the week's end, more and more arrests were taking place on both sides of the border. But the Dublin government was plainly worried. Dispatches told of open fraternization between Irish troops and their Republican prisoners.

In Northern Ireland, over 100 police in Derry alone quit their jobs; some were said to have joined the Resistance.

What will happen now? To predict would be foolhardy. Who was it that once said: "In Ireland, the inevitable never happens, only the impossible"?

—**Liam Lenihan**

New film strip on Sobell case

A FILM STRIP telling the story of the Rosenberg-Sobell case is now available for showing.

The strip, with more than 100 pictures on the case, is accompanied by a narration telling the story of the case from its beginning through the present efforts to win Morton Sobell's freedom.

Further information can be obtained from the Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y.